

Kohlman
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1 5B23PARH Hearing

2 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
3 SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

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4 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

5 v.

03 CR 1197 (SHS)

6 UZAIR PARACHA,

7 Defendant.

8 -----X

9 New York, N.Y.
10 November 2, 2005
9:45 a.m.

11 Before:

12 HON. SIDNEY H. STEIN,

13 District Judge

14
15 APPEARANCES

16 MICHAEL J. GARCIA
17 United States Attorney for the
Southern District of New York
18 ERIC B. BRUCE
KARL METZNER
Assistant United States Attorneys

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Attorneys for Defendant

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EVAN KOHLMANN,

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called as a witness by the Government,

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having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

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DIRECT EXAMINATION

20

BY MR. BRUCE:

21

Q. Mr. Kohlmann, do you have a college degree?

22

A. Yes, I do.

23

Q. Where did you do your undergraduate studies?

24

A. I went to undergraduate at the Edmund A. Walsh School of

25

Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington D.C.

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1 Q. Can you describe what the focus of the program is at the
2 School of Foreign Service in Georgetown?

3 A. The Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service was
4 established to help Americans learn about the world at large to
5 promote the study of international relations and foreign
6 policy. Even for undergrads at a graduate level. Particularly
7 areas of the world that have heretofore been ignored by other
8 academic institutions.

9 Q. And what is your undergraduate degree in?

10 A. I majored in international politics with a focus on
11 international securities studies.

12 Q. Did you have a minor or the equivalent of a minor?

13 A. Yeah. The School of Foreign Service does not offer minor
14 programs per se. However in its place they offer what are
15 known as certificate programs. Specific programs which are
16 geared towards goals of the School of Foreign Service.

17 One of those certificate programs is known as a
18 certificate in Islam and Muslim Christian understanding that is
19 given by a center at the School of Foreign Service named the
20 Center for Muslim and Christian Understanding. I did receive a
21 certificate in Islam and Christian understanding.

22 Q. Can you briefly describe your activities within the Center
23 for Muslim Christian Understanding?

24 A. Sure. In addition to the course work that I was required
25 to take as part of my certificate program, I additionally had

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1 to complete a cap stone thesis that was subject to the approval
2 of one of the program's directors, in my case Dr. John Voll.

3 Q. And what's the goal or the focus of the Center for Muslim
4 Christian Understanding?

5 A. Well, the hope is to promote good relations between the
6 Muslim and Christian worlds, to help non-Muslims better
7 understand the Islam and Muslim world at large.

8 Q. You indicated you did a thesis in connection with the
9 studies at the center?

10 A. That's correct, yeah. I wrote a cap stone thesis for
11 Dr. John Voll.

12 THE COURT: What's a cap stone thesis?

13 THE WITNESS: Sure. As part of the certificate
14 program, students are required to write a final thesis at the
15 end on a subject of their own choosing, subject to the approval
16 of a faculty mentor, one of the directors of the program.

17 My thesis was on the subject of early 20th century
18 religious and political development in Afghanistan,
19 particularly the reign of King Amanullah Khan.

20 Q. And after you wrote the -- the thesis was written as part
21 of your development of this minor program?

22 A. In order to receive the certificate you must write the
23 thesis, yes.

24 Q. You did receive the certificate?

25 A. Yes, I did.

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1 Q. Okay. In addition to the Center for Muslim Christian
2 Understanding, are you familiar with something at Georgetown
3 called the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies?

4 A. Yeah. As part of the School of Foreign Service mission,
5 particularly with regards to Middle East education, with
6 regards to Middle East, there is a second center at the School
7 of Foreign Service known as the Center for Contemporary Arab
8 Studies, in short CCAS. The center was established to help
9 spread knowledge of the Arab world, the Arab language, Arab
10 culture. And to provide students that would not ordinarily get
11 the opportunity to get that kind of exposure. It's regarded
12 generally as one of the top institutions with regards to Middle
13 East study in the entire country.

14 Q. Did you participate at all in the Center for Contemporary
15 Arab Studies?

16 A. Yes, I did.

17 Q. Can you explain how?

18 A. Well, in addition to numerous courses that I took from
19 professors and at the center, I also served as an undergraduate
20 research assistant for Dr. Manoun Fandi, who is an Egyptian
21 political scientist who was formerly associated with the
22 center.

23 Q. And did you take any course work with Dr. Fandi?

24 A. Yes, I did. I took numerous courses with him, in addition
25 again I served as his research assistant.

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1 Q. As his research assistant, what type of research did you do
2 for Dr. Fandi?

3 A. Well, at the time I was working for Dr. Fandi, he was
4 completing his work on his book, Saudi Arabia Politics of
5 Dissent. Primarily the work I was doing both in class and
6 separately for him revolved around Middle Eastern dissident
7 groups, particularly Saudi dissident groups, including figures
8 such as Osama bin Laden, Dr. Mohammed al Masri, and Dr. Saad al
9 Faqih.

10 Q. Now, did that research also involve the group known as al
11 Qaeda?

12 A. Yes, it did. One of the chapters of Dr. Fandi's book is
13 specifically dealing with Osama bin Laden and his propaganda
14 and international political structure beyond the borders of
15 Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan.

16 Q. Did you participate in that research regarding al Qaeda?

17 A. Yes, I did. I wrote several papers for him. I helped
18 proofread parts of the book. I read a -- I got a prerelease
19 copy of the book. So that was the main focus of my work. I
20 also did other work on Middle Eastern dissident groups with
21 him.

22 Q. While you were at Georgetown, did you receive any awards?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. What awards did you receive?

25 A. I received magna cum laude in my studies. In addition in

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1 my major I graduated with international politics honors.

2 Q. In addition to those awards, were you nominated for any
3 other awards at Georgetown?

4 A. Yes. The administration of the School of Foreign Service
5 nominated me to be a Rhodes Scholar nominee.

6 Q. You mentioned before in connection with the Center for
7 Christian Muslim Understanding the thesis you did in pursuit of
8 that program?

9 A. That's correct.

10 Q. In addition to the thesis, did you write any other thesis
11 papers during your undergraduate studies?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. How many additional thesis papers did you write?

14 A. Two.

15 Q. Okay. Can you tell us about the first of those two
16 additional thesis papers you wrote?

17 A. While at Georgetown, I decided that I wanted to engage in a
18 more in depth academic study of Afghanistan and how the Taliban
19 and other mujahideen movements had resulted as a result of the
20 Afghan Soviet war.

21 I approached a professor, I volunteered -- excuse me.
22 I approached a professor at the School of Foreign Service, and
23 I asked him to be my mentor and he did volunteer. So I ended
24 up writing a research seminar thesis on this topic, titled "A
25 Bitter Harvest, the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan."

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1 Q. Just a thumbnail sketch, can you tell us what the thesis of
2 that paper was.

3 A. Sure. I was attempting to trace the modern political
4 development of Afghanistan and trace the origins of the modern
5 Taliban movement, how the Soviet Afghan war of the 1980s had
6 resulted in creation of, number one, Osama bin Laden and the
7 Arab Afghan movement; and number two, the Taliban movement in
8 Afghanistan.

9 Q. You mention a term Arab Afghans. Can you describe for us
10 what you mean by that term?

11 A. Yeah. The Arab Afghans is a term in the Western discourse
12 that's come to refer to foreign fighters who traveled to
13 Pakistan and Afghanistan during the 1980s and early 1990s
14 seeking combat training to fight both against Soviet forces in
15 Afghanistan, communist forces in Afghanistan, and potentially
16 other enemies of the Islamic empire.

17 Q. When you did this research for the thesis paper you're
18 describing, entitled A Bitter Harvest, was that an existing
19 program at the School of Foreign Service?

20 A. No. I actually had to seek out professors to do this with.
21 There's obviously opportunities for independent study and this
22 area was one that was not very well covered by most academic
23 institutions, so I actually had to create my own area of focus.

24 Q. In what way did that thesis paper, A Bitter Harvest, touch
25 on al Qaeda?

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1 A. Specifically I was looking at the creation of how extremist
2 forms of religion and politics had entered into Afghanistan.
3 Not only did I trace the development of the Taliban, I also
4 traced the arrival of foreign fighters in Afghanistan, their
5 organization, their development, their goals, and how they had
6 interacted with local Afghan elements after the end of the
7 Soviet Afghan jihad.

8 Q. I want to turn to the third thesis project you worked on.
9 What was that entitled?

10 A. The third thesis project that I worked on was my
11 international politics honors thesis at Georgetown. It was
12 titled The Legacy of the Arab Afghans, A Case Study.

13 Q. Can you just in a thumbnail sketch briefly give us a
14 description of that thesis paper.

15 A. Sure.

16 Q. Slowly.

17 A. Georgetown University offers a small number of
18 opportunities each year, undergraduate students have an
19 opportunity to write a longer thesis, a year-length thesis.
20 Again, only a handful of students are approved for this.

21 I chose to write mine about the Arab Afghans. The
22 idea behind this was initially to set out who are the Arab
23 Afghans, where did they come from, what is their organization,
24 who are their leaders. Then subsequent to that taking four
25 countries where either Arab Afghans have come from or gone to

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1 in large numbers. And comparing the activities in those
2 different countries, structure of local al Qaeda affiliates and
3 al Qaeda leaders, and trying to divine why in certain countries
4 al Qaeda and other affiliate groups have achieved relative
5 success, while in others they have achieved relative failure.
6 And try to figure out what are the reasons behind that.

7 Q. Now, these three thesis papers that you have been
8 discussing, were they peer reviewed or reviewed by your
9 professors at all at Georgetown?

10 A. Yes, they were. All of them.

11 Q. Can you briefly describe that process.

12 A. Sure. Again for starting off with the certificate program
13 at the Center for Muslim Christian Understanding, that is a
14 program, again not everyone is allowed to participate in it.
15 You have to be specifically approved. You have to write an
16 application to be approved into the program.

17 Then following that, when you do end up writing your
18 cap stone thesis paper, it has to be reviewed and approved by a
19 senior member of the faculty of the center. So in my case it
20 was Dr. John Voll.

21 With regards to my second my research seminar thesis,
22 again in order to write that paper, I had to first of all get
23 approval of a faculty mentor who would agree to review the
24 paper and judge it based on its research and my conclusions.
25 And of course that was done. And again, in order for that

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1 paper to be approved, it had to be read by I think at least two
2 professors.

3 With regard to my final thesis, my international
4 politics honors thesis, not only did I have to apply to have
5 that, to actually have the opportunity to write it, but in
6 addition, upon completion, it's actually reviewed by a series
7 of faculty members. My faculty mentor and other senior faculty
8 members at the School of Foreign Service, to determine whether
9 or not it is a paper worthy of being titled a Georgetown
10 University honors thesis.

11 Q. Was it approved in that manner?

12 A. Yes, it was.

13 Q. Do you have any graduate degrees, sir?

14 A. Yes, I do.

15 Q. What is your graduate degree in?

16 A. I have a J.D. from the University of Pennsylvania Law
17 School.

18 Q. Now, while you were in law school, did you take any classes
19 pertaining to issues of terrorism or national security?

20 A. Yes, I did.

21 Q. Can you describe those for us?

22 A. Within the law school itself I took several courses dealing
23 with terrorism and modern international law. In addition to
24 that, within the university itself, within the University of
25 Pennsylvania, care of Professor Brian Spooner, I also did

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1 course work on Afghanistan, graduate-level course work on
2 Afghanistan Afghan politics. I ended up writing a longer paper
3 for Dr. Spooner comparing two Afghan mujahideen war lords.

4 Q. When you say -- that's another term I want to define. You
5 used the term mujahideen. What does that term mean?

6 A. Mujahideen is an Arabic word which means loosely holy
7 warriors or holy strugglers. It comes from the root word
8 jihad.

9 Q. When you use the term to describe a group of people, who
10 are those people?

11 A. Generally when I speak about mujahideen I'm referring to
12 the Arab Afghans or linked affiliate groups.

13 Q. A derivative of that word, mujahid; what does that term
14 mean?

15 A. Mujahid is a singular for mujahideen. It is a singular
16 holy warrior.

17 Q. Sir, are you familiar with an organization known as the
18 Investigative Project?

19 A. Yes, I am.

20 Q. Can you tell us what the Investigative Project is?

21 A. The Investigative Project is a counter-terrorism think tank
22 and research group that was established in 1995 by a former
23 journalist who had done a documentary about terrorism and who
24 sought to help sponsor further academic research on the subject
25 of terrorism.

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1 Q. Just slow down for the court reporter a little bit.

2 A. No problem.

3 Q. When you use the term think tank, what does that mean?

4 A. A think tank is a rough term to refer to a research
5 institution generally specializing in the kind of academic
6 research that's not profitable, but it's useful. So for
7 nonprofit purposes, we research this, we go into extreme
8 detail, into esoteric detail that few are interested in, but we
9 believe is valuable for the purposes of history and for
10 education.

11 Q. And once you research an issue at the Investigative
12 Project, what generally do you do with it; what types of things
13 come from that?

14 A. Well, after conducting my research I would then collate all
15 of that into a final memorandum, a report, a testimony, and
16 then that document would be subsequently distributed to a wide
17 audience. Anything from policy makers in Washington D.C. to
18 other academics to law enforcement and government officials to
19 the public at large. Anyone who will benefit from the study of
20 terrorism.

21 Q. Now, did you work at the Investigative Project?

22 A. Part-time, yes, I did.

23 Q. From what year to what year did you work at the
24 Investigative Project?

25 A. I began working in approximately 1998, in early 1998.

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1 Again, I was full a full-time student at the time both in
2 Georgetown University and subsequently at the University of
3 Pennsylvania. However, during that time I worked straight
4 through until about early 2004.

5 Q. When you say you worked there part-time, give us your best
6 estimate of approximately how many hours per week you worked at
7 the Investigative Project?

8 A. It would vary given what my exam schedule and whatnot.
9 Generally speaking between 20 and 25 hours per week.

10 Q. What were the different titles or positions that you held
11 at the Investigative Project over that roughly six year time
12 frame?

13 A. Well, over six years my titles changed. The last title I
14 had when I left the Investigative Project was senior terrorism
15 consultant.

16 Q. Did your work at the Investigative Project focus on any
17 particular terrorist organization?

18 A. Yes, I did work on ancillary groups like Hamas and others,
19 but the main focus of my work over those years was on al Qaeda
20 and its worldwide affiliates.

21 Q. And who is the head of the Investigative Group?

22 A. Former journalist by the name of Steve Emerson.

23 Q. While you were working, I'm sorry, at the Investigative
24 Project, what type of things did you research?

25 A. I researched a wide variety of elements relating to

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1 terrorism, primarily those of recruitment and financial
2 networks that al Qaeda had made use of. Al Qaeda's leadership,
3 structure, their ideology, their history, going into the kind
4 of detail that very few academics had done before but to
5 analyze it at a minute level.

6 Q. What types of sources did you use to do this research?

7 A. Well, I deal primarily in open source information.

8 Q. Can you define for us what you mean by open source
9 information.

10 A. Open source information refers to non-classified documents.
11 It could be government documents in the form of trial
12 transcripts, FBI interviews and whatnot, but documents that are
13 generally considered in the public domain. Those would also
14 include reports by other experts and other academics, original
15 material gathered directly from terrorist groups. One of the
16 specialties that I work on is gathering video and audio and
17 communiques directly from terrorist groups.

18 Q. Could you describe that process a little bit. How do you
19 go about obtaining materials directly from terrorist groups?

20 A. Sure. Well, starting obviously as a focus of study the
21 recruitment and financial networks of terrorist groups, you
22 also come into their propaganda outlets. Propaganda by these
23 groups are spread primarily through two means, either through
24 bookstores in Europe or in Pakistan, or secondly through the
25 Internet.

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1 I established relationships with several publications
2 outlets in the United Kingdom where I was able to obtain quite
3 a bit of al Qaeda or affiliated literature. Additionally
4 through the Internet I've collected hundreds upon hundreds of
5 videos and audio recordings directly released by terrorist
6 groups.

7 Q. Now, in addition to the open sources you've described so
8 far, do you use any computer databases to gather information?

9 A. Yes, I do.

10 Q. Can you describe those for us?

11 THE COURT: When you indicate that you have hundreds
12 and hundreds of videos and audios, directly from terrorist
13 groups, I take it a certain number of those are from al Qaeda;
14 is that correct?

15 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honor. Virtually all of them
16 are.

17 THE COURT: Virtually all of them are?

18 THE WITNESS: Well, there are groups that call
19 themselves al Qaeda's committee in the Arabian Peninsula or in
20 Mesopotamia. These groups are considered to be al Qaeda
21 groups. They swear allegiance to Osama bin Laden. These are
22 the primary sources of these audio recordings.

23 THE COURT: Thank you.

24 THE WITNESS: Thank you, your Honor.

25 Q. We were talking about the databases, computer databases you

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1 use also. Can you describe that a little bit.

2 A. Sure. To do open source research, obviously computer
3 databases are extremely useful. One such database is Lexis
4 Nexis, which contains a wide variety of information relating to
5 a lot of subjects. It's quite useful.

6 Second of all, the Foreign Broadcast Information
7 Service, which is an open source information arm of the Central
8 Intelligence Agency, publishes quite a bit of information
9 online and it is searchable through their index.

10 I also use my own index, since about 1998, I've been
11 collecting thousands upon thousands upon thousands of
12 documents. I have a wide database that's searchable by key
13 words. The database now contains I think over 20 million
14 documents.

15 THE COURT: Is that available publicly or is that
16 proprietary?

17 THE WITNESS: That's proprietary, your Honor.

18 Q. How do you maintain that your own database of information?

19 A. I actually, I maintain it myself by saving materials. But
20 I have a very detailed organizational system. Specifically so
21 I can maintain things like chains of custody in terms of when I
22 received original information. I will also have original
23 documents that are in other languages translated into English
24 so they're then searchable, and I have software which is able
25 to instantly search through all of these documents looking for

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1 key words, the same way you would use Lexis Nexis, only with my
2 own collection of internal documents related to terrorism.

3 THE COURT: You said contains millions of documents?

4 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honor, yeah.

5 THE COURT: Does that include both primary source
6 material and secondary source material?

7 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honor. Everything is in its
8 original format so it's very clearly labeled what the source
9 is. It makes it very easy because I tend to like to footnote
10 everything I do very meticulously. This enables us to do
11 footnotes. It is very easy to identify documents and where the
12 information comes from.

13 Q. Once you've done your research on a particular project, you
14 indicated earlier a little bit how it's disseminated. I want
15 to talk specifically about dissemination to government
16 agencies?

17 A. Sure.

18 Q. While you were at the Investigative Project, what
19 government agencies did you provide information to or work
20 with?

21 MR. WILFORD: I'm sorry, your Honor. Is Mr. Bruce
22 referring to his individual provision or the Investigative
23 Project provision?

24 MR. BRUCE: I'll clarify.

25 Q. You personally, sir, what government agencies did you work

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1 with while you were employed at the Investigative Project?

2 A. Well, obviously we worked informally, but we provided
3 informal assistance or I -- excuse me, I provided personally
4 informal assistance to the Department of Justice, the Federal
5 Bureau of Investigation, the National Security Council, U.S.
6 Treasury Department, the Department of Homeland Security.

7 THE COURT: Just a moment.

8 THE WITNESS: Sorry.

9 Q. Let's go through them slowly for the judge. The Department
10 of Justice?

11 A. The FBI, the DOJ, the National Security Council, the
12 Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. Treasury Department,
13 the Bureau of Immigrations and Customs Enforcement, local law
14 enforcement, state law enforcement, and additionally the NCTC.

15 Q. What is the NCTC?

16 A. The NCTC is the research and analysis arm of the Central
17 Intelligence Agency.

18 Q. When you were working with this variety of government
19 agencies, and you're presenting them with some of your research
20 and your work product, did you ever get feedback from them on
21 your analysis?

22 A. Yes, I did.

23 Q. Just generally describe that process; how would that work?

24 A. Sure. Whether I'm dealing with, you know, a government
25 agency or not, any potential recipient of a document of mine, I

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1 frequently ask them for their opinion to see what they think of
2 the document. Part of this is a learning process, it's
3 educational. So peer review is an integral part. Obviously
4 some government agencies have access to information I don't, so
5 opinions of government policy makers or people that have an
6 inside view is extremely valuable in reaching my conclusions,
7 yes.

8 Q. Since you've left the employ of the Investigative Project,
9 how have you been employed?

10 A. I actually pretty much do the same thing that I did at the
11 Investigative Project, only now I work independently as a
12 consultant to private groups. I also work as an on air analyst
13 for NBC News, MSNBC.

14 Q. Let's go back for a minute to your work as consultant for
15 private groups.

16 A. Sure.

17 Q. What types of private groups do you do consulting for?

18 A. I work as a researcher and investigator for the 9/11
19 Finding Answers Foundation and NEFA Foundation was set up as a
20 nonprofit group to help fund independent private
21 counter-terrorism research. I also do work for government
22 agencies, I'll do work for foreign clients, anyone with an
23 interest in this. But particularly I do work with prosecutors
24 and you know those involved in investigating these cases.

25 Q. In law enforcement?

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1 A. Yeah, law enforcement, sure.

2 Q. Now --

3 THE COURT: What entities have you been a consultant
4 for?

5 THE WITNESS: Sure. The NCTC, the Department of
6 Justice, the FBI, and outside of the United States, the Supreme
7 Court of Bosnia Herzegovina and the International Criminal
8 Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia at the Hague.

9 THE COURT: These are entities that have retained you?

10 THE WITNESS: That's correct.

11 THE COURT: As a consultant.

12 THE WITNESS: That's correct. And excuse me.

13 Additionally, the Metropolitan Police Antiterrorism Unit in
14 London.

15 Q. Now, in connection with your current employment, do you
16 operate a Web site?

17 A. Yes, I do.

18 Q. What is the Web site?

19 A. The Web site is globalterroralert.com.

20 Q. And can you describe the Web site for us.

21 A. Sure. When I went independent I decided that I needed a
22 place on the Internet in order to disseminate information to
23 operate as an information clearing house on Internet terrorism.
24 I felt that despite the fact that terrorism was a major issue
25 in the news and for policy makers, there was a derth of

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1 original information about terrorist groups. Not just
2 analysis, but original audio recordings, video recordings,
3 communiques, the kind of material that are very important for
4 not just policy makers, but for the American public at large.

5 I set the Web site up in order to help distribute that
6 kind of information. Obviously edited it, to try to remove
7 some of the terrorist propaganda value out. But nonetheless so
8 people could learn more. When I say people, I refer here to
9 government agencies, I refer to educators, I refer to the
10 public at large.

11 Q. Now, when you say that your Web site focuses on original
12 materials, why do you consider that important?

13 A. Well, because of the fact that original materials I think
14 tell us more about terrorist groups than virtually anything
15 else. Hearing someone in their own words describe their
16 activities and their interests is much more compelling and I
17 think speaks much more to the goals and ideology of the
18 movement than reading intelligence reports or secondhand
19 information. Very, very few researchers have been able to get
20 their hands on original materials relating to terrorist groups.
21 It's not that easy. I have had the benefit in the sense that
22 many of the ways that terrorist groups had decided to
23 disseminate their material, have been means which I understand
24 well. Such as the Internet. It's given me something of a leg
25 up inspect that regard.

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1 Q. In your current capacity as an independent consultant, has
2 your work focused on any particular terrorist organization?

3 A. Yeah. I mean, al Qaeda. Al Qaeda is a wide organization
4 and encompass a lot of different affiliates, but al Qaeda and
5 other groups related to Afghan jihad of the 1980s.

6 Q. The work you've done with the Web site, in your opinion, is
7 that peer reviewed in any way?

8 A. Yes, it is.

9 Q. How so?

10 A. Well, everything that I put on there obviously is. One of
11 the wonderful things about the Internet is it's subject to
12 review. It can be edited. When I put things out on the net
13 before they are put out generally, they are reviewed by other
14 colleagues of mine. For after doing this for seven or eight
15 years, I've amassed a wide variety of colleagues around the
16 world, people like Dr. Rohan Gunaratna in Singapore, people
17 like John Charles Brisard in France. There are people
18 virtually all the world that do the same thing. If they come
19 up with something that either adds to my work or changes it or
20 in any way affects it, I'll often post an update where I'll say
21 for information purposes or for full disclosure, you should
22 also check out this and this by my colleagues here and here who
23 have also done work on this subject and this is what they have
24 found. You know this is -- we generally work like academics.
25 We work like almost like university academics that peer review

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1 is very important.

2 Q. When you say you post updates, you do that on your own Web
3 site?

4 A. Yeah. Or on the counter-terrorism blog which is another
5 Web site I am affiliated with.

6 THE COURT: Let me try to understand the nature of the
7 peer review you're talking about. When you say peer review, I
8 gather what you mean -- I don't want to put words in your
9 mouth, I think this is what you mean. Tell me if it isn't. Is
10 that by virtue of your findings going out of the Internet,
11 they're available for anyone who reads that posting to comment
12 on it. Is that what you're talking about?

13 THE WITNESS: Correct.

14 THE COURT: It's not as if it's a formal jury peer
15 review of an article that I believe happens for the Journal of
16 the American Medical Association or something like that.

17 THE WITNESS: Right, right.

18 THE COURT: I assume that happened at Georgetown,
19 based on what you've said.

20 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honor. It's more informal.
21 It's more like having a blackboard, an international blackboard
22 and having different academics writing things on the blackboard
23 and discussing different elements. What they do, for instance,
24 the counter-terrorism blog which I am a part of, there are
25 often frequent discussions between different members of that

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1 blog. Sometimes agreeing sometimes --

2 THE COURT: Blog?

3 THE WITNESS: Blog.

4 THE COURT: Go ahead.

5 THE WITNESS: Sometimes disagreements, sometimes
6 agreements, but focusing on a particular area, an academic area
7 of counter-terrorism. I think it's interesting, although it's
8 raw and although it is not refined the same way that a
9 university, such as my thesis was reviewed, it provides
10 interesting insight into what, you know, current research is
11 going on. What different people are thinking about that
12 research. It's kind of cutting edge.

13 Q. Can you describe for us a little bit about how that process
14 works on the counter-terrorism blog?

15 A. Sure. I was chosen to be one of several contributing
16 experts to contribute to this blog. The blog is a variety of
17 different folks that have expertise in one area or another of
18 terrorism, terrorism financing, terrorism recruitment. And the
19 idea is to contribute -- it's supposed to be -- it says this
20 flat out on the blog that the purpose is for policy makers, for
21 academics, it is supposed to be not headlines, it's supposed to
22 be more in-depth academic research on terrorism.

23 Q. What's a blog?

24 A. It's short for Web log. It's a closed discussion forum on
25 the Internet where groups of individuals can disseminate

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1 material live to the world at large.

2 Q. On the counter-terrorism blog that you've been discussing,
3 who are some of the other participants and their backgrounds on
4 that blog?

5 A. Sure. So other participants include Andy McCarthy who is a
6 former federal prosecutor here in New York who was the
7 prosecutor involved in 1959 New York jihad plots case; also
8 Matthew Leavitt is another individual on there who is a former
9 FBI analyst who now is an expert in Hamas and other Palestinian
10 groups; Zachary Abuza, probably the world's foremost expert on
11 al Qaeda and other militant Islamic groups in South East Asia.
12 He's a friend of mine, but also on the blog.

13 It is a wide variety of experts, with many former
14 government folks or former government officials.

15 THE COURT: Could Mr. Bruce participate in the blog as
16 well?

17 THE WITNESS: No. It's closed. It's limited to the
18 participants involved. However, as part of a service to
19 readers, the editor of the blog frequently posts questions or
20 will post issues that have come up or will post directly
21 e-mails to contributors and ask them to address specific issues
22 that have been raised by those who have visited the blog or
23 have commented.

24 THE COURT: That is only in that context that
25 outsiders can participate; otherwise it's discussion among

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1 those who are permitted to have access to this.

2 THE WITNESS: Correct. Correct. You can always
3 e-mail the editor, and those comments are shared with all of
4 the contributors and they're discussed at great length. But
5 it's closed to participants in the blog, yes.

6 Q. If I was sitting home at my computer, although I couldn't
7 participate in the blog by posting something on that site,
8 could I read what others have posted?

9 A. Yeah. And in addition, the blog maintains a system which
10 allows to track where other people have posted their own
11 messages in regards to our postings. If you have -- say if I
12 post something online, if I post the document online where it's
13 a report of some kind. At the end of that if someone wants to
14 post something to attack it or to criticize it or whatnot, they
15 can actually leave what's called a track back. Which is almost
16 like a note or a Post-it note saying if you want to see what my
17 opinion on this is, go here. And that is something that's
18 built into the blog, so anyone can technically comment.

19 Comments are not posted directly on the blog. But there are
20 links directly so people can go and see what other people are
21 reading or saying about what's being written.

22 Q. So in essence there's sort of a closed portion of the blog,
23 and then there's a more public portion that it's linked to?

24 A. Right. It's like saying this is what we say, and if you
25 want to see what other people are saying, this is where you can

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1 go to see that. It's all automatic, it's not controlled.

2 Anyone can leave any kind of track back they want. So if
3 someone wants to go on and, you know, and scream and yell at
4 us, they can do that, and there will be a listing, regardless
5 what it was they say, for us to go see what they are saying
6 about it.

7 Q. In the closed portion only certain people have been
8 selected to participate?

9 A. Yeah. The idea is to foster serious discussion about
10 counter-terrorism. There are a lot of people out there that
11 are would-be experts and we try to keep it to people that we
12 know, that there's been a group of people that have done this
13 for a long time. We've all gotten to know each other. It's
14 trying to keep it academic.

15 Q. You mentioned that you also do work as a terrorism
16 consultant for NBC and MSNBC; is that right?

17 A. That's correct, yes.

18 Q. What are your duties in that regard?

19 A. Well, in addition to providing on-air analysis for MSNBC
20 and NBC on issues of terrorism, I also provide them directly
21 with copies of breaking terrorist videos, audio recordings,
22 documents. Particularly from Iraq, Afghanistan and Saudi
23 Arabia.

24 Q. Do you ever appear on television with another colleague or
25 expert in the area of terrorism?

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1 A. That's the preferred format is to have me on with another
2 expert, yeah.

3 Q. How does that work generally?

4 A. Generally speaking, we're both asked similar questions and
5 we are supposed to play off each other. Either we're supposed
6 to agree or disagree with each other. The questions are
7 somewhat general, sometimes specific. But we are not given any
8 instruction or anything, so people can say whatever they want.
9 If someone disagrees with me, they can feel free to disagree
10 with me.

11 Q. Now, I want to ask you about the 9/11 Commission. Did you
12 participate in any way formally or informally in the 9/11
13 Commission and its subsequent report?

14 A. Yes, informally.

15 Q. Can you describe that.

16 A. Sure. While I was at the Investigative Project, I assisted
17 Congressional researchers and others who were engaged in
18 putting together the report. I provided them original
19 information; I provided them with analysis. I also engaged in
20 discussions with them about particular areas of study with
21 regards to both al Qaeda in general and the 9/11 plot in
22 specific.

23 Q. Is your work cited at all in the final 9/11 Commission
24 report?

25 A. Yes, it is.

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1 MR. BRUCE: If I may approach, your Honor.

2 THE COURT: Yes.

3 MR. BRUCE: I believe you have a copy of the exhibits,
4 your Honor.

5 THE COURT: Yes. Do you have an extra copy as well
6 for my clerk? Okay. Go ahead.

7 MR. BRUCE: Your Honor, I've handed the witness
8 Government Exhibit 1 for purposes of this hearing.

9 Q. Mr. Kohlmann, do you recognize that document?

10 A. Yes, I do.

11 Q. What is it?

12 A. These are footnotes to the final version of the 9/11
13 Commission report.

14 Q. This government exhibit is just a small excerpt of the
15 overall report?

16 A. Yeah, it's page 467 and 470.

17 Q. And is your work cited at all amongst these footnotes?

18 A. Yes, I believe it is cited both on page 467 and 470.

19 Q. Can you point out the footnotes for us and read the portion
20 where your work is cited?

21 A. Sure. Sure. On footnote 37, the last line of footnote 37
22 for bin Laden's involvement in the Bosnian conflicts, see Evan
23 F. Kohlmann al Qaeda's Jihad in Europe, the Afghan-Bosnian
24 Network, Berg Publishers, 2004.

25 Q. How about on page 470. Which footnote are you cited in?

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1 A. On footnote 80, on Balkans --

2 Q. The last sentence?

3 A. Yeah, the last sentence. Reference again to my book al
4 Qaeda's Jihad in Europe.

5 Q. Could you read it us for us?

6 A. Sure. On Balkans, see government's evidentiary proffer
7 supporting the admissibility of coconspirator statements,
8 United States v. Arnaout, and Kohlmann al Qaeda's Jihad in
9 Europe.

10 MR. BRUCE: Your Honor, I'd offer Government Exhibit

11 1.

12 MR. WILFORD: May I have just a brief voir dire --
13 I'll save it for cross.

14 THE COURT: I think it's probably more efficient if
15 you do it that way. Right now I'll take it.

16 (Government's Exhibit 1 received in evidence)

17 Q. The footnotes in Government Exhibit 1 in the 9/11
18 Commission report refer to your book?

19 A. That's correct.

20 Q. Okay. And could you give us title of your book again?

21 A. Sure. It's al Qaeda's Jihad in Europe, the Afghan Bosnian
22 Network.

23 MR. BRUCE: I am going to hand the witness with the
24 Court's permission Government Exhibit 2 and Government Exhibit
25 3 also.

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1 Q. Can you take a look at Government Exhibit 2, Mr. Kohlmann.
2 Is that your book?

3 A. Yes, it is.

4 MR. BRUCE: I'd offer Government Exhibit 2, your
5 Honor.

6 MR. WILFORD: No objection.

7 THE COURT: All right. 2 admitted.

8 (Government's Exhibit 2 received in evidence)

9 Q. Can you just -- I realize it is a lengthy document. Can
10 you briefly describe your book for us.

11 A. Sure. As a result of conducting research just prior to and
12 following 9/11 and as a result of the academic work I had done
13 as part of my honors thesis at Georgetown, I decide to take it
14 a step further and write a book specifically analyzing a
15 regional conflict zone where al Qaeda and the Arab Afghans had
16 gone to, and try to analyze both the hidden microhistory and
17 what the lessens were, the larger geopolitical lessons that
18 could be drawn.

19 So the book is both a very detailed analysis and
20 breakdown, a very detailed analysis and breakdown of the
21 foreign mujahideen, the foreign holy warriors in the Balkans.
22 Also an analysis of what the subsequent aftereffects of their
23 presence in Bosnia was. And how that network in the Balkans
24 relates back to the central al Qaeda network in Afghanistan and
25 al Qaeda terrorist cells spread across Western Europe, the

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1 United States, and North America.

2 MR. BRUCE: Just as a footnote, we didn't copy the
3 whole book for you, but it is available. We do have the table
4 of contents there.

5 THE COURT: I see.

6 Q. Mr. Kohlmann, what type -- how would you characterize your
7 book; what type of publication is it?

8 MR. WILFORD: Objection.

9 THE COURT: Sustained as to form. Just be more
10 specific.

11 Q. Certainly. Who is the intended audience for your book?

12 A. Well, it's Oxford University Press. So it's a university
13 publisher, which means it is an academic book. It is designed
14 primarily for use in classrooms, by academics, by other
15 experts. It is not a general reading book. It is pretty thick
16 and it is pretty detailed. There's over 400 footnotes.

17 THE COURT: Who is Berg Publishing?

18 THE WITNESS: Berg is an imprint of Oxford University
19 Press.

20 Q. Was your book, Government Exhibit 2, peer reviewed in any
21 way before it was published?

22 A. Yes, it was. My book was -- Berg, the imprint of Oxford,
23 is located in the United Kingdom which means the book is
24 subject to British liable law, which means in addition to the
25 lengthy peer review process that is normally afforded to

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1 academic books and was afforded to this one, in which numerous
2 experts around the world were given copies and asked to review
3 it, including members of prestigious counter-terrorism programs
4 in the United Kingdom, in addition --

5 Q. Let me just be clear. That process did occur with respect
6 to your book?

7 A. It's actually called peer review. The academic publishers
8 won't publish any book without having it thoroughly reviewed by
9 other academics first. Even in the United States --

10 THE COURT: For what purpose? For purposes of liable
11 or for another purpose?

12 THE WITNESS: That was -- no, that was a secondary
13 issue. The first issue was to make sure the book itself was
14 worthy of being an academic work, that the research was
15 accurate, that it was consonant with what others had found and
16 it reflected truth on the ground. And numerous experts have
17 had a chance to review this based on content, and even those
18 who are Balkan experts, people that are specifically Balkans,
19 not necessarily terrorism, such as Marko Attila Hoare, have
20 given high praise to the book.

21 But separately, your Honor, there was also a secondary
22 process. Because of the fact that the book is subject to
23 British liable law, that the book had to be carefully read by a
24 liable lawyer, by myself, and others to make sure that
25 everything was carefully footnoted and the evidence contained

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1 therein was correct.

2 Q. Now, during the course of your career, have you written any
3 articles on terrorism issues and al Qaeda?

4 A. Yes, I have.

5 Q. Can you give us an estimate of approximately how many?

6 A. Sure. I have written probably two dozen or so articles or
7 various pieces on terrorism. Sometimes they range from shorter
8 pieces, such as what I did in the beginning back in 1999 in the
9 Journal of Counter-Terrorism. Most of what I write in the form
10 of terrorism pieces is longer journal articles, chapters for
11 books edited by other colleagues of mine, other folks involved
12 in studying terrorism.

13 Q. I'd ask you to turn to Government Exhibit 3, Mr. Kohlmann.
14 Do you recognize that document?

15 A. Yes, I do. It's the Fall 2005 edition of the Journal of
16 International Security Affairs.

17 Q. Okay. Can you describe for us what the Journal of
18 International Security Affairs is.

19 A. It's an academic journal for designed for individuals who
20 want to publish longer scholarly pieces specifically on
21 security affairs. This issue is titled The War on Terror
22 Future Fronts. So the idea is it is supposed to be kind of
23 like foreign policy. It is sold in some newsstands. It is the
24 kind of thing you would find in a university library or some
25 kind of academic institution.

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1 Q. Now, obviously according to the front page you were
2 recently published in this journal?

3 A. Yeah, I just contributed an article to the fall edition.

4 Q. Called the Balkan Breeding Ground?

5 A. That's correct.

6 Q. Can you briefly describe, again in a nutshell, that article
7 for us.

8 A. Sure. That article was meant to serve as somewhat of an
9 update to my book. It contained various references to new
10 developments with regards to al Qaeda and affiliate groups in
11 the Balkans, and was also a reflection of my experiences being
12 in the Balkans earlier this year and doing direct field
13 research studying North African and Saudi militants in the
14 Balkans.

15 MR. BRUCE: I offer Government Exhibit 3, your Honor.

16 MR. WILFORD: No objection.

17 THE COURT: Admitted without objection.

18 (Government's Exhibit 3 received in evidence)

19 Q. Now, Mr. Kohlmann, was this particular article subject to
20 any type of peer review either before or after it was
21 published?

22 A. Yeah. The article was heavily reviewed by the editor of
23 the magazine. It was sent back to me twice for different
24 revisions or with questions or with, you know, just requests
25 for me to flesh out details.

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1 The article was -- yeah, it was heavily reviewed
2 before being published

3 Q. Once it's published, is it subject to any further review or
4 discussion?

5 A. Sure. I mean, the purpose of this is to generate academic
6 discussion. The purpose of this is to get other people that
7 are engaged in detailed studies of the subject to talk about
8 what are the future -- the future training grounds. This is
9 not meant to be a general reading piece. Each of these
10 articles are 20 to 25 to 30 pages long. They are really meant
11 to be for policy makers or others with a detailed knowledge of
12 this stuff.

13 Q. Have you recently contributed to any other publications
14 regarding terrorism issues that are due to be released any time
15 soon?

16 A. Yes, I have.

17 Q. Can you describe that for us?

18 A. Sure. I contributed a chapter to Dr. James Forest Making
19 of a Terrorist, which is a multivolume encyclopedia about to be
20 released next week by Dr. Forest, a West Point Academy
21 professor who deals with military strategy. And who was
22 commissioned to write that multivolume encyclopedia about the
23 making of a terrorist. One of the chapters I contributed.

24 Q. What is the idea behind that publication, The Making of a
25 Terrorist?

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1 A. Again, it is multivolume encyclopedia. It's not a general
2 reading book. The idea is for those who are engaged in the
3 study of terrorism, of extremism, to get a comprehensive view
4 from A to Z literally of how terrorists are brought into
5 movements, how they're recruited, how they're financed, how
6 they're sent out, not just in one conflict zone, but multiple
7 conflict zones and multiple areas around the world with a
8 specific focus I believe on al Qaeda.

9 Q. You contributed a chapter to that encyclopedia?

10 A. That's correct. Dr. Forest contacted me and requested I
11 contribute a chapter.

12 Q. Can you briefly describe the chapter you contributed?

13 A. Sure. The chapter I contributed reflected on how the
14 Balkans had served as a breeding ground for extremism in Europe
15 and how terrorist cells in the 1990s have had direct links back
16 to the Bosnian war of the 1990s.

17 Q. Can you tell us who the intended audience is for that
18 encyclopedia?

19 A. It's academic audience. I believe the primary folks that
20 are going to be purchasing it are going to be libraries,
21 university libraries. It is being produced by a West Point
22 professor, so it is not general reading.

23 Q. Was your work on that encyclopedia, The Making of a
24 Terrorist, peer reviewed or reviewed in any way?

25 A. Yes, it was. In addition to Dr. Forest obviously reading

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1 it, offering his comments and whatnot, the university -- rather
2 the publisher itself also I believe distributed these documents
3 to other people and tried to gauge their reaction and what they
4 thought of the general tone.

5 THE COURT: Who is the publisher?

6 THE WITNESS: I actually believe it is Pregger Press,
7 but I am not sure off the top of my head, your Honor.

8 Q. In addition to the encyclopedia you've been discussing,
9 have you recently contributed to any other projects or
10 publications?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. What is that?

13 A. Well, I'm actually contributing to several projects right
14 now. I am actually engaged in revising a chapter for Dr. Rohan
15 Gutratna on cyberterrorism. The chapter that I initially had
16 written for him for a new book he is editing on future fronts
17 again in the war on terrorism.

18 I'm also engaged right now in writing a report for as
19 part -- excuse me, as a chapter for a report for the government
20 of Denmark on the issue of terrorist financing and al Qaeda.

21 Q. How did you become retained by the government of Denmark?

22 A. It was actually through a colleague of mine, a university
23 professor in Copenhagen who was commissioned by the government
24 of Denmark to write a comprehensive report about the state of
25 al Qaeda, the state of other terrorist groups. This colleague

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1 of mine who I've known and I've worked with before and we've
2 had long discussions and debates about this stuff, he requested
3 that I write a chapter specifically about terrorism financing
4 with regards to al Qaeda, particularly focusing in on how the
5 latest earthquake in Pakistan may have affected that
6 phenomenon.

7 Q. Approximately when were you retained by the government of
8 Denmark to assist --

9 A. Indirectly. I believe in August.

10 Q. Okay. Are you retained by the government or by your
11 colleague?

12 A. My colleague. Potentially there is an opportunity for me
13 to go to Denmark and present my findings before a government
14 body.

15 Q. Is that work that you've done for this publication relating
16 to the government of Denmark or on behalf of the government of
17 Denmark reviewed or peer reviewed in any way?

18 A. Yeah. I mean the person who is editing it is a university
19 professor and the report is being produced for a government.
20 So everything is going to be extremely carefully reviewed by
21 other academics, by the editor. I have no doubt that when -- I
22 haven't finished my final draft yet. I have no doubt when my
23 final draft is done, I am going to have to make significant
24 revisions before final publication. This is a regular, regular
25 process.

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1 Q. Now, Mr. Kohlmann, have you spoken at any academic
2 conferences concerning issues relating to terrorism or al
3 Qaeda?

4 A. Yes, I have.

5 Q. Can you explain those in general.

6 A. Sure. Last spring, I spoke at a conference out in
7 California convened by several universities and government
8 agencies in northern California focusing in on future threats
9 from terrorist groups, potential areas that the Department of
10 Homeland Security was not covering in terms of weaknesses to
11 national infrastructure. Particular threats from terrorist
12 groups that have gone overlooked. A wide variety of different
13 experts were brought in to offer their expertise, and I was one
14 of them.

15 Q. Have you spoken at any other academic conferences?

16 A. Yeah. I spoke twice this summer at academic conferences
17 organized in the Balkans, talking about the war in Iraq,
18 talking about the situation with regards to terrorist groups in
19 the Balkans. Wide variety of subjects related to terrorism in
20 Europe.

21 I'm also scheduled to speak in the beginning of next
22 year in Edinburgh at the annual World Wide Web conference to
23 talk about international terrorism and the World Wide Web.

24 Q. When you speak at these academic conference --

25 THE COURT: Would you characterize the Edinburgh

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1 conference as an academic conference?

2 THE WITNESS: It's being organized by a university. I
3 forget which university it is, but it's in Scotland.

4 Q. What's the nature of that conference in Scotland?

5 A. The nature -- it's really more of an Internet and World
6 Wide Web conference than a terrorism conference, but as one of
7 the elements they are dealing with, they were asking for an
8 international authority to speak about terrorism on the
9 Internet. They contacted me and asked that I be their keynote
10 speaker for that part of the discussion.

11 Q. When you speak at some of the academic conferences you've
12 mentioned, is there any debate or discussion among yourself and
13 the other participants?

14 A. Frequently, yeah.

15 Q. Can you describe that?

16 A. Sure. I don't agree with everything that every other
17 terrorism expert has ever said, and often times I will confront
18 them about that and I will debate about facts. One of the
19 frequent debates is about the war in Iraq. And I'm not
20 hesitant to debate with people about that. Sometimes the
21 debates get heated, but it's interesting. It's a good way of
22 sharing information and it's a good way of comparing and
23 contrasting ideas.

24 Q. Have you ever provided testimony to the U.S. Congress?

25 A. Yes, I have.

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1 Q. Was that written or live testimony?

2 A. It was written. It was coauthored by myself and a
3 colleague. My colleague delivered it, but it has both our
4 names on it.

5 Q. Who was your colleague that delivered it?

6 A. Matthew Epstein.

7 Q. What was the nature of the testimony that you coauthored
8 with Mr. Epstein?

9 A. It was supposed to be a comprehensive look at al Qaeda
10 terrorist financing. The means, the mechanisms through which
11 al Qaeda finances itself. And very specifically what are
12 those, not just, you know, not just what kinds of terrorist
13 financing there are. What actual entities and individuals have
14 been responsible for raising money on behalf of al Qaeda.

15 Q. And for what purpose were you and Mr. Epstein submitting
16 this testimony?

17 A. For the purpose of educating policy makers.

18 Q. Before it was submitted, was that written testimony that
19 you coauthored peer reviewed in any way?

20 A. Yeah, it was written while we were at the Investigative
21 Project before any document would be submitted, Congressional
22 testimony. It was reviewed by numerous people, both inside and
23 outside the Investigative Project. Every footnote was
24 carefully analyzed two, three, four, times to make sure there
25 were no mistakes.

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1 THE COURT: What committee was it submitted to?

2 THE WITNESS: I believe it was the subcommittee on
3 banking and finance, but I'm not sure, your Honor.

4 THE COURT: Senate or House?

5 THE WITNESS: Senate.

6 Q. Now, other than what we've discussed so far, in the course
7 of your daily work, do you discuss your findings, your theories
8 and your conclusions with other people in your field?

9 A. Yeah. Because of the fact that I operate my own business,
10 I'm forced to go out frequently to my colleagues and talk about
11 this. I've had discussions with people in government, outside
12 of government, academics, non-academics, anyone who is involved
13 in this in any way to see what's floating around out there, to
14 learn what people are thinking, to learn what ideas are being
15 expressed. Frequently this involves debates. Also because of
16 the fact that I am in the media, I frequently am involved in
17 debates, televised on air in the form -- on air in the form of
18 written reviews or written discussions on various magazines. A
19 few months ago I participated in an online discussion on the
20 war on terrorism with several other contributors where we were
21 trading things back and forth, all written. But yeah, very
22 frequently. It is an integral part of this.

23 Q. Have you ever personally interviewed a terrorist?

24 A. Yes, I have.

25 Q. For what purpose were you doing that?

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1 A. For multiple purposes. I've interviewed alleged terrorists
2 for my own research purposes and I've also done so at the
3 request of government agencies.

4 Q. Can you give us an example of one of the people that you've
5 interviewed?

6 A. Sure. I've interviewed Abu Hamza al-Masri a/k/a Mustafa
7 Kamel in London.

8 Q. Can you briefly describe for us who is Abu Hamza?

9 A. He is a cleric originally from Egypt who during the 1980s
10 went to Afghanistan to seek combat against Soviet forces there.
11 Allegedly while playing with explosives, he blew off his hands
12 and became horribly disfigured.

13 He returned to the United Kingdom and became an
14 integral recruiter for al Qaeda and other extremist groups. He
15 was the editor of the official magazine of the Algerian armed
16 Islamic group. He also is widely known as a distributor of
17 proterrorist propaganda tapes and other materials from the
18 United Kingdom.

19 Q. Is Abu Hamza al-Masri also known as Mustafa Kamel indicted
20 anywhere in the United States on terrorism charges?

21 A. Yes, he was indicted here in the Southern District of New
22 York.

23 Q. When did you interview him?

24 A. I interviewed him in the summer of 2002.

25 Q. Where is he now to your knowledge?

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1 A. He's currently being held in custody in the United Kingdom
2 awaiting extradition to the United States to face charges.

3 Q. Did any government agency ask you to interview Abu Hamza or
4 did you do that on your own?

5 A. No, it was my own research trip. There were a number of
6 individuals in that area I wanted to speak with. I presumed
7 they would be under greater and greater scrutiny by law
8 enforcement. It seemed to me that was as good a time as any to
9 speak with them.

10 Q. Where was Abu Hamza's main base of operations?

11 A. In London. It was the Finsbury Park Mosque in North
12 London.

13 Q. Where did you interview him?

14 A. I interviewed him in his office in the Finsbury Park
15 Mosque.

16 Q. How did you set up that interview?

17 A. I actually called him and I spoke with him on several
18 occasions. I explained to him I was a graduate student, which
19 I was at the time, and I was interested in Islam and I had a
20 background in studying Islam and Muslim Christian relations,
21 and that I was writing a thesis on this subject, and I would
22 like to speak with him and interview him. After several phone
23 calls and e-mails back and forth, he agreed for us to come,
24 myself and a colleague, to come there. And we got a chance to
25 sit down and speak with him.

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1 Q. And did you tape record this interview?

2 A. Yes, I did.

3 Q. Approximately how long was the interview?

4 A. Initially he told me the interview would only be able to
5 last for about a half an hour, but our discussion got very
6 intense and in depth. It ended up lasting I think over two
7 hours.

8 Q. When you were at the Finsbury Park Mosque in London, did
9 you speak to or interview anybody else at the mosque other than
10 Abu Hamza?

11 A. Abu Hamza had kind of designated his person in the -- he
12 had assigned --

13 Q. Why don't I ask the question again and let's take it more
14 slowly, Mr. Kohlmann.

15 While you were at the Finsbury Park Mosque, did you
16 interview anyone else other than Abu Hamza?

17 A. Yes, I did.

18 Q. Who was that?

19 A. I also spoke with the custodian of the mosque, the person
20 that was in charge of the mosque behind Abu Hamza, who was an
21 individual who went by the name Attilla.

22 Q. And for what purposes did you interview Attilla?

23 A. Abu Hamza had more or less assigned Attilla to be our
24 guardian when we were at the mosque. He led us throughout the
25 mosque, he showed us down into the library, and he helped us

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1 select various audio recordings and video recordings and books
2 that we thought would be useful.

3 Q. This person Atilla showed you around?

4 A. That's correct, yes.

5 Q. Why were you interested in speaking with him?

6 A. Well, he was the number two person in charge of Abu Hamza's
7 organization. He was the person who was responsible for the
8 mosque. And he obviously knew everything that was in the
9 library. We were interested in purchasing materials at the
10 library. So he was, he was a good person to speak with. He
11 knew the ins and outs of Abu Hamza's organization very well.

12 Q. In addition to Abu Hamza and Atilla, did you speak with
13 other people when you were at the Finsbury Park Mosque?

14 A. Yeah, I did.

15 Q. Can you generally describe who those people were?

16 A. Sure. I got in conversations with some of the other folks
17 that were there. People that weren't affiliated necessarily
18 with the mosque, but worshippers or followers of Abu Hamza. I
19 spoke with them in English and in French.

20 Q. I want to change gears. While you were on that same trip
21 to London in 2002, did you meet someone named Sheikh Omar Bakri
22 Mohammed?

23 A. Yes, I did.

24 Q. Can you briefly describe for us who Sheikh Omar Bakri
25 Mohammed is?

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1 A. Sure. Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammed is a Muslim cleric
2 originally in Lebanon, who until recently was living in an
3 asylum in the United Kingdom. He runs an organization known as
4 al Muhajiroun.

5 Q. What does that word, al Muhajiroun, mean?

6 A. It is an Arabic word meaning the immigrants.

7 Q. What type of group is al Muhajiroun?

8 A. The idea behind al Muhajiroun is to reestablish the rule
9 of a global Islamic empire, not just in the Middle East and in
10 Central Asia, but actually also in the United States and in
11 Great Britain. And towards that purpose, they aim to recruit
12 people to form what they term to be a fifth column to upset
13 society and establish the rule of an Islamic calafate
14 worldwide.

15 Q. When you say Islamic calafate, what do you mean?

16 A. Calafate means the Islamic empire. It's a reference to the
17 pre-1920s empire that was in control.

18 Q. Does the group al Muhajiroun advocate violence?

19 A. It advocates violence as the primary method to achieve that
20 goal.

21 Q. How did it come to be that you interviewed Sheikh Mohammed?

22 A. I called him and spoke with him. Over e-mail I had asked
23 him -- I explained to him I was a graduate student and I would
24 like to speak with him, interview him on the subject of Islam
25 in the United Kingdom versus Islam in the United States. He

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1 agreed. I met him at his headquarters in Tottenham in North
2 London. I proceeded to conduct an interview with him.

3 Q. Was that interview recorded?

4 A. Yes, it was.

5 Q. In addition to Sheikh Omar Bakri, did you speak with anyone
6 else associated with al Muhajiroun?

7 A. Sure. While I was at the headquarters of al Muhajiroun
8 with my colleague, we also were able to speak with several of
9 Sheikh Omar Bakri's assistants. Individuals that were his
10 followers that were helping set up stands or helping set up
11 things at the headquarters. We met several others at other
12 events where Omar Bakri was speaking.

13 Q. Okay. I want to ask you about those other events. What
14 types of other events did you go to that pertain to Sheikh Omar
15 Bakri or al Muhajiroun?

16 A. After attending several events related to al Muhajiroun,
17 speeches being given by Omar Bakri, we asked if they would
18 allow us to go to more events, events that weren't being
19 advertised. So we were invited to what I guess you would term
20 an underground al Muhajiroun event where followers of Omar
21 Bakri, individuals who had helped organize his other speeches,
22 were giving their own speech without the Sheikh.

23 Q. What types of things were discussed at those meetings?

24 A. The need to support Osama bin Laden, the need to support al
25 Qaeda, the issue of killing women and children in the sense

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